HINTS

REGARDING THE

EAST INDIA MONOPOLY;

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED

TO THE

British Legislature.

BY DAVID LAURIE.

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EAST INDIA MONOPOLY.

WHEN an important and deeply interesting question has been long agitated and discussed, and the facts and circumstances by which it may be affected have been examined and considered in their various relations to, and bearings upon its object, we are not always best prepared for deciding upon its merits, or for acting conformably to its import. In many instances, investigation blunts our finest and highest perceptions, and the details which it brings to light overwhelm our clearest and most sublime views of duty and of interest. In this way, the animated feelings, which the prospect of a free trade to India had excited, have already been worn away, and our minds have been so exhausted and perplexed by the intricate labyrinth into which the Company's affairs have brought the general question, that those paramount considerations, those insuperable obligations, which the question itself implies, are in danger of being, if not absolutely forgot, at least generally overlooked. It is for the purpose of recalling these first and paramount impressions that the following hints are respectfully offered.

Concerning the value of the trade, that must arise from direct intercourse with 450 millions of human beings, in different stages of civilization, and under every variety of circumstances, it is evidently unnecessary to descant. Every one who can think independently on the subject must be satisfied, that this value to such a commmercial and industrious nation as ours now is, must be immense beyond our present comprehension. In the present state of Europe, it presents itself to our view under every advantage. It is against our trade that the animosity of this important quarter of the world is chiefly directed; if this can be placed beyond their reach, we may hope that their hostilities against us will be paralyzed, and their minds prepared to accept of the boon of commercial intercourse with us on free and equitable conditions; but until we can shew ourselves independent of their good-will in regard to this essential advantage, our suit for their favour will, in all human probability, be as ineffectual as it has been incessant.

It is customary for writers in service of the East India Company to set forth, as a counterbalancing consideration to these views, the peculiar character and dispositions of the inhabitants of the East, who, it is held, are so repugnant to change, and so tenacious of their own manners and customs, that all the blandishments of European intercourse would be lost upon them. To this, however, let it be answered, that the East India Company have no right whatever to limit our calculations by the present appearances of that trade. These have heretofore been formed under their influence, and circumscribed by their restrictive policy. At present, we have no other way of coming at the truth on this point but a scanty experience. From this, however, and from the enlarged apprehensions of the subject that arise out of its stupendous character, we perceive, that in truth, the field for commercial interprize in these remote regions is not only vast, but every way suited to our circum-

stances. It is a maxim that cannot be too strongly impressed on our minds, that it is only by exciting industrious propensities that wealth is to be procured; these propensities require free and equitable commerce for their excitation and support; and amidst nations in the most opposite circumstances and in the most different degrees of civilization, commerce, peculiarly lucrative and advantageous, cannot but take place the instant that their respective powers and resources can be made to bear effectually upon each other.

What wonderful changes have taken place in these regions within our own days, and may not changes still more wonderful speedily follow? These nations, let it be remembered, are all deficient in the rudiments of improvement, particularly in the tools and instruments of agriculture, and we cannot but suppose, that emulous as they are of our attainments, they would refuse competent supplies of these. Such supplies, let it be noticed, it is a great and important branch of our national industry to produce. Out of the advantages resulting from such invaluable acquirements, may we not expect an aggregation of wealth and of means favourable to improvement, and conducive to greater and higher commercial intercourse? Would not our industry gradually become concatenated with this progression of things, and the productions of these regions be rendered more and more subservient to our commercial wants? In the end might not a chain of trade every way correspondent to the wants and circumstances of each be produced? This comprizes no presumptuous view of our character; it is Britain that now gives to the world the standard of all that is excellent—it is to British manners and customs that all nations now conform themselves—Britain leads the fashion and gives the law, not merely in the tinsel of dress, but in the whole frame of social acquirements.

In order to get quit of these powerful objections to their

monopolizing system, it has become customary with the partizans of the East India Company, to employ the cant word *methodism* to every project that implies improvement; and unhappily a false pride, arising from disgust at this epithet, has made many individuals stand off from their duty, when every moral and political consideration would have inclined them to advance. As I, for my part, am not at all concerned about this matter, I shall state my sentiments moral, civil or political, without any other apprehensions, except those which a profound reverence for the law and will of God, and the most ardent attachment to the best interests of my country necessarily suggest, and in place of eluding the difficulty that seems thus produced, I shall venture to meet it most steadily in the face.

Those who promulgate those alarms, which methodism and colonization are held to imply, must contend for one of three things—either that individuals, of a dangerous cast of character, will attach themselves to the native princes, and through their means and influence attempt to overthrow the British empire in the East—or, that the British population in a mass will, when greatly advanced in riches and strength, endeavour to dissever this empire from the parent state—or, that in consequence of the headstrong turbulence of factious individuals, the tranquillity and prosperity of the general empire will be endangered, if wealth and improvement should ever become general in India. As these grounds of alarm are all directly repugnant to each other, it is impossible to set them forth otherwise than as apart. British subjects are not apt to throw up the invaluable blessings of their civil constitution, and to adventure their lives, fortunes and characters on a loose scale of action; and no one has any right to calculate on contingencies, that are inconsistent with the ordinary rules of human procedure.

Let it be supposed, in the first place, that certain evil

disposed Britons were to go over to the native princes, and by their intrigues and manœuvres, engage these in their project of expelling their countrymen from the peninsula, and as this is supposing a degree of perversity in the character of our countrymen, that has not heretofore been exemplified, it is certainly a bold supposition. Let us, however, suppose such a thing to have taken place, to an extent sufficient to excite both danger and dismay. What would be the consequence? If we look at the fate of Tippoo Saib, we have our answer. Such an attempt would kindle every latent principle of honor and patriotism in the hearts of our fellow subjects; these would spurn from their hearts every sympathetic and enfeebling regard, and rush into the fields of contest with the most enthusiastic valour. Tippoo had every advantage of this kind that he could desire, without the allay of the renegado principle here supposed; he had an immense empire, was in the zenith of military and political glory, was backed by all the influence that French principles and European tactics could afford. His fate, with all these advantages, will never be forgot in Hindostan. If, however, on some particular prince its influence should be lost, he, like Tippoo, would only bring down on himself that destruction that he meant to have hurled against us, and contribute to the exaltation of that empire which he vainly expected to have overthrown.

Let us now advert to the second supposition, and admit for a moment that the whole British population in India might coalesce their own divided interests, and succeed in organizing these vast regions under one independent sway. We are apt to give way to such a suspicion, because when America had begun to feel her strength and importance, she served us in this very way. But the British residents in Hindostan are not at all in the same circumstances with the American colonists. They may bear some resemblance to our countrymen in the West Indies, and to the Creoles in

South America, where the European population has always more to fear from the indigenous inhabitants than from the misgovernance of the mother country. British subjects in India, however, have little in common with the American revolutionists. America from the first was peopled by a robust intrepid race of men, all of one high independent cast of character: their climate, their employments, and their circumstances all served to unfold their inherent qualities, and to prepare them for one great revolutionary developement. But the condition of residents in Hindostan, like their character, is the very reverse of all this. Before any great revulsion can take place amongst them, deep contrivance, and a thorough preparation would be necessary, all of which our immense contiguous settlements and possessions, joined to our established and consolidated power in these regions, would be ready to circumvent and traverse.

But it may be said, our expatriated brethren would be able to make the indigenous inhabitants form a common cause with them. This, with due submission, is inferring, that Britons will through time so degrade themselves, as to prefer the tameness of Indian existence, to the noble boldness of their native regions—that they will run the risk of having their high pretensions set aside, and that of being absorbed under Indian institutions—that they will contentedly plunge themselves into a desperate conflict, for the sake of unbridled Asiatic indulgence, and in order to get rid of those ennobling exercises, in which their high character consists, coalesce with a race of men whom they now despise—and that with such dispositions so debased and so enervated, they will retain energy sufficient to lay the foundation of a vast empire, to endow its incongruous parts with one national impulse, and to bring forth its resources under one redoubted sway. All this, let it be remarked, is to be done in the view of dissevering themselves from their parent stem, in whose unlimited resources alone their peculiar prowess

resides, a prowess so potent, that while acting under its influence, every man of them possesses vigor sufficient to command the services of the thousands, by whom he is beset. What but infatuated effeminacy could contemplate such a revulsion without horror! and what energy is there to be dreaded in such deplorable infatuation!

The alarms, implied in the third supposition, have partizans even among the advocates for a free trade. It is not, these say, the treachery nor the revulsion of their countrymen, if placed under auspices favourable for improvement, that they dread, but the corruption and imbecillity of our own executive government, and the headstrong turbulence to which, British residents may thereupon be driven. These, they alledge, would, if not most imperiously restrained, throw the affairs of the nation into disorder, and embroil the best interests of the country. This is a theme which too many of our countrymen are disposed to chime, but it is one, in which the topics for reprehension lead to conclusions the most opposite from what is here intended. Every one knows that there is a vast difference betwixt the temperament of an Indian and that of a Briton, but few make the allowances that are necessary to ascertain the character and the consequences of this difference; the asperity of the one grates upon our ears, the timidity of the other beguiles our senses. The first, however, is bold and generous, the last perfidious and distrustful; he will neither give nor receive those kind offices that indicate a sound disposition of mind, while the other, amidst all his inequalities, is incessantly giving powerful displays of the strength and worth of his essential endowments. This is a conclusive, and it is an irresistible argument in favour of a liberal policy in regard to our own countrymen; and when it is duly weighed, it must inspire confidence alike in our brethren abroad, our government, and our establishments. It suits the views of certain partizans, as well as it does those of

the East India Company, to repel such inferences; but this cannot be done, without denying the existence of all those blessings and advantages that we individually and nationally enjoy, and giving the preference to a system of things which none of us can contemplate without disgust.

These remarks may be held to be a sufficient answer to mere cavillings and surmises, that have their foundation in jealousy and misapprehension. It is the business of but too many to vilify the peculiarities of our countrymen, that thereby they may degrade our peculiar institutions in the eyes of the world. To reason with such is unnecessary; it is enough to appeal to facts that cannot be disputed. What is it that upholds the whole frame of society in which we are enveloped, that amidst turmoils and difficulties elicits the most sublime indications of human character? Is it not our holy religion, and the institutions by which its influences are diffused? We must not suppose, that because the doctrines of Christianity are so generally treated with disrespect, that therefore their power has ceased to unfold itself. There is scarcely a person amongst us, the most profligate and the most impious, whose character has not been affected by it, and who is not, though in spite of himself, made instrumental in diffusing its best blessings. Every thing around us has at one time or other been subjected to the power and influence of Christianity, and retains more or less of its powerful impress: the provisions for education as well as those for the maintenance of the helpless; the laws and usages of polite society, as well as the forms and ceremonies of religious worship, all partake of its mild beneficent character, and diffuse advantages that are conformable to its laws. By these things the conduct of men is necessarily regulated, by them also their temper and character is generally formed; they have raised the character and circumstances of the European community above those of all the other nations of the world, and all the nations of anti-

quity, and they are necessary to uphold these in their exalt ed situation.

That the influences here referred to have entered deeply into the temperament of our countrymen, cannot be doubt- ed. It was these that moderated the various revolutions of Britain, so opposite both in their operations and in their results to the revolutions of other countries. With the follies, but not with the crimes that attended these revolutions the fatuities of religionists may be chargeable; for it is a fact, that deserves our most serious regard, that even amidst the height of delusion, the restraints laid on the passions of men by our holy faith were obviously the preservatives from much mischief. No such scenes as those that took place in France, in St. Domingo; no St. Bartholomew's Day, no Sicilian Vespers cloud our history: ebulitions of mistaken loyalty, of undue devotion to a particular party and to particular tenets, took place then, as they take place daily under our eye, but unless the star of infidelity shall rear its head, and the sunshine of Christian truth set in the shade, we will continue to find, as we have always heretofore found, that not only genuine contrition will defecate occasional perversity, but that sympathetic and benevolent feelings will predominate even in our most infuriate dissentions. These characteristic sentiments, let it be noticed, are not confined to one class of men, they pervade the whole community. The fatuous Turks and the bigotted Spaniards and Portuguese are witnesses of the fact, and in their harmonious cooperation with our meanest hinds, acknowledge the superior lustre of British benignity. Can we then seriously dread revulsion from the mild and placid tribes of Hindostan, coalesced under our governance, who have so much cause to venerate our institutions, and so many inducements to confide in our national character? We perceive our name and nation looked up to with respectful homage by those who are nationally most averse both from these and from our

religion and national policy; and will we fear lest the gratings of our peculiar asperities, the uncouthness of our personal manners, sink that magnanimity and power out of sight, while the blessings that are connected with them are so fully enjoyed?

There is one way of securing the good-will and riveting the affections of our fellow-subjects in the East, and there is but one, and that is, by making them duly sensible of the blessings that they enjoy under our protection. It is not by impressing them with an idea that we will at all events respect and nurture their prejudices and their institutions; that rather than be deficient in complacency to these, we will like the Dutch trample the ensign of our own peculiar faith at their feet, or like the Americans plead our abortion from the European commonwealth. If we should thus bend all that is peculiarly our own at their feet, every act and circumstance of our lives would disclose the hollowness of our pretensions; our tameness would provoke their abject hostility, and give unbounded effect to that subtle line of policy that is so suitable to their character. It is by governing wisely and exercising our authority with fidelity, resolution and intrepidity, that our institutions and our interests will come to be all alike respected, and not by dropping the one in favour of the other; it is by limiting our power by maxims drawn from discrete, magnanimous and extended views of our whole circumstances and obligations, that this respect, and that correspondent good-will, which are so much coveted, will be alike procured. Whatever the inhabitants of these distant regions may think of us, let us beware, that they never entertain the idea that we are bound to lower ourselves under their feeble phantasies; for if they should, while we forfeited our character for courage and candour, we would place these phantasies in that very throne which we, and all that is our own, are called to occupy. It was not by sacrificing their own peculiar tenets to the pre-

judices of the multitude that the Mahometan's dynasty became established; and it is not by so doing that our security is to be obtained. These bickerings and dissensions that sound so loud and appear so threatening when religion is named, form no part of its pure essence; they are ebulitions from its surface, but they feel the restraints of its influence, and like the ragings of the windy storm, they alarm those most who are least implicated in their consequences—like the tempest, too, as they tend to pass off impurities that might become pestilential, they excite alarms that will presently subside and be at rest.

I have been the more particular on this point, because it seems to be much misapprehended. We are alarmed lest Christianity and civilization, by making too rapid progress in India, endanger the stability of our empire, while the fact is, that we have too much reason to fear, that though our utmost efforts were used, the progress of these would be but tardy. It is above two hundred years since we began the civilization of the Irish under similar prejudices, and though our national exertions thereto have been immense, we have no reason to vaunt of our success. Improvement presupposes high mental as well as great and incessant corporeal exercise; it subsumes a sense of the value, and a taste for the enjoyments of refined life, and it subsumes also a disposition and a predetermination to submit to the exercises and privations that are necessary for their attainment. For these reasons, in spite of all the blessings felt to be connected with it, we are tardy in our progress towards improvement; nay, we frequently fall back in the way. Have we any reason to believe that the Hindoo forms any exception to the general rule? Quite the reverse. Mahometanism, with all its allurements, has not in the course of many centuries received any considerable accession of strength.

We are accordingly brought back to the point from which

we started, the institution of a good general system. To appoint proper deputies for exercising the powers of legitimate authority, is an important object, and it is one in which perhaps, there has been seldom much to complain of; but it is a matter of still greater importance, to institute a proper plan of superintendance, to secure vigilance, and enforce accountability. I have sometimes been of opinion, that this matter was in a manner prepared to our hands. Our own plan of executive government seems to have arisen out of the regular exercise of its ordinary functions, and some such plan might be adopted in India. Let our object be not so much the punishment, as the prevention of evil; let the council of each Governor General, those whom he was bound to consult, and whose advice he was under the necessity of following, in all extraordinary occasions, besides comprizing some of his confidential friends, comprehend the heads of the departments of finance, of the army and navy, of the colonial and commercial interests, of the justiciary and civil authority, and then we may rest assured, that he never can act without competent information; and let the heads of these departments be amenable not only to government, both abroad and at home, but to the legislature for their transactions, and then too I apprehend we can have few fears about the execution of their respective duties.

I am far, however, from setting down this or any other plan as a general rule, I mention this plan merely because it exhibits one, wherein, the exact fulfilment of every obligation, and the most complete accountability can be comprised, and one that is alike simple in its apprehension, and in its application. My object, at present, is not to exhibit a model, but to evince the fact, that there is nothing in the circumstances of the case that can make the changes about to be induced by a *free trade*, either momentous or alarming; and if the evils to be dreaded do not render an abolition of

the monopoly impolitic, surely the advantages obviously to be derived therefrom ought to lead to that measure.

The greatest difficulty consists in adjusting the claims of the East India Company. Here too there is one way, and but one of meeting the objection. We must, and we may admit them in their full legitimate extent; but we must qualify the admission with declaring, that all these claims, whatever they are, are mere matters of indemnity and compensation. Without this qualification, we must be contending, that British subjects may institute sovereignties, independent of the state, and that the East India Company is one of these sovereignties. But we all know that no British subject has any right so to do, nor any ground of claim whatever, that stands on a higher footing than that of indemnity; and that with this right held in security, he can insist on the most ample amends. The right of resolving claims in this way, it is evident, can be exercised by the state alone—only for the sake of great and substantial public advantage, and no farther than this advantage imperiously requires. In those cases, wherein the exercise of this power is necessary, it is no less the duty of the state to accord, than of the individual to claim, not only complete indemnity, but the most absolute deference to all his personal rights which still remain in reserve.

This point, I apprehend, must be held to be incontrovertible, and being thus determined, the adjustment of every other matter becomes both easy and simple. The first thing that demands our regard is the claims which the British nation now set forth, what is their limits, and what the extent of the concessions that the company must be prevailed on to accord. That the exercise of sovereignty in all its ramifications must be resumed by the king, in case of a free trade is self-evident—for British residents in India, in that case, will not be the servants of the Company as they now

are, and governed by restrictive regulations, but the subjects of the crown, and as such governed by the established laws of Britain. That this free trade ought to be exercised in all its branches is in my opinion equally manifest, from our circumstances and obligations. Our national trade and industry are sunk into dependence on rival and hostile nations, and they have at length become paralyzed from the multitude of misfortunes under which they have fallen, and by which they are still incessantly beset. Our whole population, and the value of all our national resources are in consequence falling off rapidly, both in real efficiency and in political importance. Duties, that call for our greatest strength, our highest exertions, in the meantime press upon us; and we are in a manner driven to the East for an excitation and support to our industrious propensities. There, an unbounded field for commercial enterprise presents itself, there, wealth unexplored, and means ascertained sufficient to reanimate all our faculties, and to keep them for ages in full exercise, present themselves; and there too, the interposition of private capital, and of private traders, has called in the assistance of foreigners to meet duties and enjoy advantages that are peculiarly our own.

In betaking ourselves to this resource, we are only availing ourselves of an advantage that has been long with-held from us. This defalcation of ours has not only excluded us for ages from the exercise of many indisputable and essential rights, but it has armed the individuals who have availed themselves of it, with much dangerous and hurtful power; they have not only drawn up these unalienable rights, and the transcendent prowess that has resulted from them, under banners hostile to our best interests; but they have inverted the energy thus procured, against ourselves; and so immured themselves in privileges, that we dare not, or cannot bring them to the bar of common equity, for their misapplication of our resources. This is a matter that cannot

be disguised. Nay, such is the patronage enjoyed by the East India Company, that in all ordinary cases, the renovation of its charter would have passed again. At length, however, its financial difficulties have made it necessary for it to throw itself in the arms of the country; the necessities of the landed, the commercial, and the funded interests now loudly call for relief: to these the wants of the state and of the community at large, give redoubled efficacy. In the meantime the monopolists paralyzed, giving way, and yielding up powers that are unprofitable, and even hurtful, perceive that though by abandoning their power, they alter their condition, they are under no necessity, either to lower their character, or to forfeit any of those honors and privileges, that are really estimable, and that they can exercise with advantage to themselves or the country. This, I apprehend, is the real state of things, at present, and, under these views, the value and the extent of the claims and pleas of all parties may, I think, be satisfactorily adjusted. The interest of all parties are prepared to coalesce; they are kept asunder by certain feelings and misconceptions, but these ought not to prevent an equitable arrangement.

In my opinion, the situation of the East India Company, at this moment, is somewhat analogous to that of the feudal aristocracy, when civil improvement first made way for the advancement of the lower class of the community. Like this body of men, at that eventful epoch, they have before them a change which no exertions of their own can obviate or prevent. The mass of the people are struggling for a participation in that wealth and influence which the company has so long enjoyed, and the government is anxious to resume that power and patronage, from which it has heretofore been excluded. The Company is exceedingly lothe to part with possessions and dignities that have in a sense become prescribed in its hands; part with these, however it must, or greater evils will ensue. If its struggles are systematic and successful, it may preserve to itself something like the

feudal domination, that in the end obtained the ascendancy in Poland and Germany; wherein, the patrician order, by depressing alike the supreme power and the people, contrived to maintain their predominancy at the expence of the welfare of the nation. But if the matter is compromised in the way that was done in regard to that domination in England and in France, the interests of all parties may be promoted and not at all repressed by the change.

At present an opportunity of meeting the exigencies of the country, and of obtaining effectual relief to themselves, is laid open to the East India proprietors. The country demands access to those regions of enterprise that are locked up under their hands. The certain consequence of obtaining this access is the introduction of improvement, wealth and security into their territorial domains. It is necessary that the state lay hold of the reins of this vast empire, not so much for the sake of the change that is apprehended, as of that which has been already induced. But, in thus depriving these proprietors of their honors and immunities, the state relieves them of their burdens, extends its strong arm around their possessions, and gives redoubled efficacy to that spirit of enterprise which there, as in England and America, must necessarily augment and substantiate the value of their immense possessions. In such circumstances, is it the duty or is it the interest of the proprietors to be tenacious of their prescribed superiority, or to let it fall into the hands of the state, for the sake of the equivalent that will thereby be prepared to their hands? In being tenacious, they risk their own immediate concerns, they incur double responsibility in the eyes of the country, and they contribute to the general calamity of the nation, a calamity, in which they themselves must ultimately participate. On the other hand, by letting their prescribed honors fall into the hands of those who are disposed to make the best use of them, they relieve themselves from a mass of cares and burdens, they re-

solve all these, and all their hazards into those of the state, they will call for the thanks, and they will merit the gratitude of their country, and contribute thereby to raise it, and all their connexions, to a condition that will enable and dispose them, and all parties to seek their welfare as benefactors. By following out this latter train of conduct, the East India proprietors, like the ancient English barons, must unquestionably find the value of all those possessions, and of all those privileges that it is competent for them regularly to enjoy, augmented beyond all calculation. Thereby, also, they may obtain financial relief and territorial revenue from subjects, that would have otherwise been unproductive. If the Company could take a clear and extended view of its own situation and advantages, I apprehend, that it would view the denouement that is thus prepared for it, as a consummation every way most desireable.

There are a variety of stations in a system so vast, that might give occupation to a body so great, so rich, and so powerful, as the East India Company. India has a territorial interest particularly her own, which an aristocracy so great might well devote itself to the charge of. The commerce, thence induced, must require the interposition of a financial establishment furnished with resources both at home and abroad, thus redoubted and thus extended. The vast national enterprises, martial, maritime and political, of an empire so important and immense, could not be better disposed of, than in charge to a political body, so deserving of confidential regard. In all or in any of these, the talents and resources of the company might find employment, much more suitable and much more lucrative, than that of conquering and governing countries which must sooner or latter be taken out of its hands. It is by these very means, (it must be noticed,) that the value and the importance of all its assets and investments would be most successfully substantiated, realized and resolved into tangible and divisible effects, and that

a species of political power and importance, with commensurate wealth and means, would result from its character and situation, most consistent with individual interest.

As to the commercial and political difficulties that may be devolved upon the nation, by unrestrained intercourse to the East, these, whatever they may turn out to be, ought not to discompose us. There is a season when nations like individuals may put forth their whole strength, not only without danger, but with manifest advantage; and surely the vigor and energy of the British government and people, exhibited by them on every suitable occasion, cannot make us estimate any difficulties that can here present themselves, matters of much importance. Patriotism and loyalty, courage and perseverance, the qualities of all others the most necessary for surmounting obstacles and resolving advantages, into general good, were never so prevalent, and never so successfully displayed in our nation as at present. Our capital and ingenuity, our industry and interprize, and our resources, faculties and powers, abetted by our naval prowess and military force, and by the exalted character of our government, and supported by the immense territorial acquisitions and resources that have at length been subjected to our sway in those very regions, ought to raise us above all suspicions on this head. Such means and such powers must bear down every appearance of obstruction, and nothing but a restricted and perverse line of policy can prevent their raising our name and nation to the highest pitch of advancement. These attainments are immense, but as they are noways incommensurate with our innate staminal vigor, they may be exercised without abatement. Holland and Portugal, Venice and Genoa severally, had possessions every way more disproportionate to their native power; and it was not by their extension, but by their corruption and oppression that their fate was blighted. It becomes us, like Rome, to assimulate to our character all that has become our own;

and then, like Rome, though the whole earth should fall under our sway, its improvement and our own radical strength and superiority would only be the more effectually established and confirmed.

It is not at all meant to say, that nothing like difficulty, or obstacle, or disappointment will appear in the expansion of commerce and industry, that is here supposed. On the contrary, in such an extended scale of action, we must expect that these will increase; but unless our character shall rapidly degenerate, obstruction will only be the prelude to triumph, difficulty to higher attainments, and disappointment to more severe and arduous preparations. Let it be recollected, that every new commercial attainment will not only constitute a trophy to the British name, but form the means for farther attainments,—that every new indication of improvement thus procured will not only augment our resources, but tend to the stability of those already obtained, and thus confirm our commercial ascendency amongst the nations,—and that every developement of this ascendency will prove a spring to the advancement of our personal characters. It is not for a moment to be admitted, that our constituted powers are incompetent to the formation of a system of regulations suited to such increasing power, nor that imbecillity of mind and feebleness of conception will prevent the nation from availing itself fully of such advantages, as is but too frequently admitted. On the contrary, taking for my rule, those high displays of personal prowess, and of force of character, that have taken place in the navy and other fields of enterprize, and wherever a fair and full opportunityhas offered, I must contend, that our national character has not yet sufficiently developed itself, that it is still in a state of pupilage, and that a more ample range is necessary for its full exercise and denouement.

I am aware that these remarks will alarm a certain class

of the community, respectable alike for their character and for their influence. It may be apprehended, that the national means and the national power will be squandered away under presumptuous ideas of our importance, in wild attempts at fanciful reformation; that unprofitable and unwarranted undertakings will become prevalent; or at any rate that our strength and potency, now so consolidated and so stable, may be exhausted and attenuated from the effects of mere extension. It must be remembered, however, that all this time it must be held that the arm and authority of one government surmounts the whole, that these will not be idle or listlessly set aside, but on the contrary, be proportionally active and vigilant, and be strenuously and incessantly exercised in repressing unlawful and unwarranted undertakings. Undue assumptions of wealth and pretensions to importance will in this way be immediately exposed.

In the case supposed, however, there is a check upon unwarranted speculation that can exist in no other instance. In a trade that admits of exchanges in a manner under one's eye, the prospect of factitious support, from obligations that are transmissable, may decoy the unwary into various improper transactions. It is well known, that extensive shipments of invaluable commodities have been frequently made, for the sake of the financial accommodation to be obtained from drawbacks of debentures and from advances on consignation; and that these, in certain instances, have been continued to such an extent, that the wealth of particular communities have been consigned to destruction, in the pursuit of financial relief. In the case before us, however, every thing of this kind is impossible: no financial accommodation can be drawn from a trade, wherein a couple of years must intervene betwixt the outset and the return. A person engaging in it must be possessed of a capital equal to the whole amount that is adventured, and this capital he must have completely under his command. As this arises from the nature of the case, it forms a bar to unwarranted enterprize

that cannot be obviated. Nor is this all: as this very circumstance must induce caution and mature preparation, it will drive mere adventurers out of the trade, and it will allure men of real capital and experience into it. These will not rashly consign their property into an improper channel of trade, nor increase its extent beyond its due bounds.

Of the effects, resulting from such extended intercourse, upon the character and general circumstances of the state and nation, some apprehensions may be obtained from viewing our peculiar attainments and situation. Our nation is in every sense founded on the sea; we are an immense maritime, mercantile, industrious people, connected together by the instrumentality of naval and commercial influence. Our native isle is placed in the centre betwixt our North American and Eastern territories. These countries, so opposite to each other in character and circumstances, while they supply us with their peculiar riches, are governed and subjected not less by superior policy and incessant intercourse, than by our established sovereignty and paramount influence. A vast navy, and vast territorial advantages, resources and energies are necessary to us, and they are prepared for us, but they are only to be obtained in the way of free unrestrained commerce, and as they are to be obtained, so they must be diffused and possessed in this way, and in no other. With the advantage of such a navy, such intercourse, extended and invigorated by such means and resources, we approximate the most distant corners of our empire to each other; we make each feel and enjoy the strength and advantages of the whole; we consolidate their aggregate powers, under our immediate authority.

These remarks are set down, because they bring into view a variety of important considerations in regard to the true value of unrestricted commercial intercourse. It is by it, and by it alone, that the invaluable productions of our

Asiatic territories are to be accommodated to our service, and produced of such qualities and in such quantities as to befit our purposes. Silk, cotton, indigo, and a variety of precious gums and dyewoods, fitted for our manufactures; hemp, saltpetre, and other naval and warlike stores; for competent supplies of which we are at present dependent on foreign powers, might be all obtained within our own domains, if a free trade, supported by a liberal and extended line of policy in regard to our distant possessions, were adopted. At present, the quality of Indian productions is generally marred through want of skill and attention, and the quantity produced noways commensurate to that which is requisite to meet our manufacturing exigencies. Nothing but the solicitude and perseverance of the resident British capitalist can reach the source of the evil here noticed; and such a personage cannot exist and exercise his ameliorating functions, without perfect freedom and security in regard to his personal and political interests. Here, the cry of methodism and colonization may again be raised; but will any one say, that there is more danger in binding the inhabitants of these countries to us by a sense of interest, than by the repulsive fetters of constraint; in inspiring them with love and confidence in our paternal solicitude for their concerns, than in compressing them under our authority by means of distrustful and alienating restrictions. At present, notwithstanding the improved state of our own manufactures, the old round of fabricating silk and cotton goods, without abatement and without reserve, is kept agoing in India, although these, so far from supplying our wants, materially traverse and interfere with the most necessary means for their supply. How in such circumstances can commercial intercourse become profitable? It belongs to the ingenuity and industry of the British capitalist, informed by science and impelled by system, to divert trade from this unnatural channel, to resolve its whole force against hostile competitors, and to render it necessary for our neighbours

and for foreign connexions, to subject their commercial system to fair and equitable principles.

But besides the advantages resulting from improving the native productions of India, and accommodating these to our purposes, direct intercourse with India would prepare the natives for higher exercises under our immediate influence. For my part, I can see no good reason for debarring ourselves from their services in the army, in every department of foreign duty that offers. What consumpt of British subjects, does the garrisoning of our West India Islands occasion? How many thousand brave warriors might be at our disposal, if our colonial expeditions could be supported by recruits from Hindostan? In this way we might infuse the ardor and zeal of loyalty into the hearts of our dusky fellow subjects; these we might make beat with enthusiasm in our common cause; we might exercise the zeal and ardor thus produced, towards great common objects under one great influence, and by advancing them effectually in our own system, exalt our general system in the scale of nations. This is no trifling consideration. Every Russian Emperor may not be as magnanimous as Alexander. If a Bonaparte should ever sit on the throne that commands the source of our supplies of naval stores, he might feel as little difficulty in advancing over the Scandinavian territory to the Northern seas, as Bonaparte himself felt in crossing the states on the Rhine. In such a case, the dernier resort here referred to, would be invaluable; but it would only be invaluable in so far as attachment to us was secured by kindred regards. If in this point we are deficient, in some critical posture of our affairs, the power or influence of our enemy may invert against ourselves, the whole force thus in reserve, with more ease than we could manage it. At present a fair and a full opportunity of drawing it forth, and organizing it under our own influence is within our grasp; this opportunity lost, another equally favourable may never return.

I have been the more particular upon the subject of civilizing India, because it appears to me to form the key-stone of all our attainments If we can accomplish this object, we will have effectually brought under our sway, an empire every way superior to that of Bonaparte; its population and its territory being alike invaluable in themselves, and correspondent to our circumstances. Let India but be civilized, or rather identified with the parent system, and we have at once direct and complete access to all the wealth and commerce of the whole Eastern world. India, however, must in the first place, be exercised under this character; its industry must be concatenated with ours, and its hopes and fortunes linked with the results of this connexion. Our manufacturers derive immense advantage from Jews and pedlars on the European continent. Our merchants may have a similar advantage in Asia where this is necessary; but by following out the outline now drawn, our commerce in this quarter will come to rest on higher ground.

But say they, there is a difficulty and a danger in attempting or even abetting the civilization of India. There is manifest danger in trusting one's self in a bark upon the waves, or to guidance derived from information drawn from the magnetic needle; similar danger is produced in exploding a cannon, and in condensing steam; but by observing in each particular case the necessary rules, every danger is so completely dispelled, that the merest novice will not startle. When the powers thus obtained have been duly improved, arranged, extended, concentrated and properly directed, they give the most momentous results. It was by dint of power derived from the successful application of steam to useful purposes, that the national wealth and power, by which Britain has been able to impede the progress of French principles, has been procured. It was by dint of the force, derived from the application of gun-powder to warlike purposes, that Mahometanism was by the Divine

goodness arrested in its progress westward; and, it is by the superior prowess that results from a concentration of all the improvements made in naval tactics, that the blessings of peace and security are now and have been so often preserved to the world by the power of Britain. There is a danger no doubt in attempting to civilize India, and if we manage the business violently and remissly by turns, as the French revolutionists managed the ebulitions that took place in France twenty years ago, the danger may be great; but shall we therefore say, with our eyes open to the consequences, with our government, our institutions, our resources, and every man at his post, that the civilization of India gradually rising up under our hands, will create any thing like peculiar danger or difficulty?

Let us next direct our attention to the advantages and consequences that must flow to our China trade, from the adoption of a liberal system, in regard to Hindostan. It is proposed to reserve the China trade to the East India Company, which it must be noticed, is not only a trade that is most lucrative, but one that is most susceptible of extension and improvement, provided only a liberal policy in regard to our general trade be resorted to. It is said that the character of the Chinese, and the principles of their government, render this reservation on the whole both prudent and advantageous. The matter, I apprehend, briefly stands thus. The government of China is as systematically repugnant to our nation, and to all intercourse with it, as that of Bonaparte, and it tolerates no more foreign trade, than what in existing circumstances is indispensibly necessary. On the other hand, the inhabitants of that country are as alert in the pursuit of gain, and as friendly to trade as any other people on the face of the globe. On our part, neither the government nor the nation conceal their partiality to this trade. The question with us accordingly turns out to be—how are we to remove these jealousies, and that captiousness

on the part of the Chinese government, which is the great bar to this intercourse? The question is no doubt important, and somewhat delicate, but as I do not pretend to be possessed of the means that are necessary to make all its circumstances bear upon their object, I shall content myself with adverting to a few particulars, that in my opinion, ought to set the matter at rest, whatever way the general tendency of circumstances may happen to point.

We have an immense and invaluable empire in the East; this empire is supported by our national character, and by our maritime prowess. How are these to be maintained in full vigor? Is it by lowering ourselves in a way, that we would not do in regard to France, Russia, or America? The government of China no doubt does not invade our territory, or those of our allies; it does not preclude our commerce, by sweeping spoliative decrees; but it lays bonds on our exercise of a general right, which no other power has as yet attempted; it tolerates no more intercourse with us, than suits its own occasions, it represses with a high hand what transgresses these limits, and it respects neither our persons nor our properties, when these become obnoxious to its views. These are assumptions of sovereignty that perhaps we ought not and will not impugn. They are beacons to our progress; but they must not prevent us from availing ourselves of every fair and lawful advantage that comes in our way. There is no friendship shewn to us that can embarrass our movements, or paralyze our efforts in the course to which by the above circumstances we are impelled.

What would the most conciliating dispositions lead us to do? That we must have a free trade of some kind in the neighbourhood of China is a point, about which none can cavil, seeing that the possessions of the British crown in that quarter have become so important as to render this unavoidable. How then are we, in the way of giving effect to a monopo-

ly of the China trade, to preclude intercourse betwixt these settlements and China? It must be recollected that it is not enough to preclude intercourse betwixt British residents and the port of Canton; the indigenous inhabitants of all these settlements, the Chinese themselves, and every foreign nation must be laid under a similar restraint, in order to put a stop to indirect trade with China. As no restrictions to be enforced ashore that can be devised, though executed in the most strenuous manner, could effectually preserve the monopoly to our privileged Company from infraction, unless along with these, the right of search at sea was established; shall we, or can we, transfer to the Company this right? Let it be recollected, that this search must be instituted in the view of conciliating the Chinese. Will it have this tendency? Just the reverse: it will exasperate their animosity and jealousy almost to distraction. It will fill their minds, and the minds of every other nation of the East with frenzy against our naval power. Into what effects such exasperations might lead, it is impossible to conjecture; it affects the tenderest part of national honor, as well as the most essential interests of the people. Animosity of this kind is seldom restrained by forms; for it is not so much the sense of the privation that is inflicted, as the acrimony that must be engendered by constant efforts to traverse the enjoyment of natural rights for a pitiful object, which neither equity nor sound policy can justify.

It may be explained, that no other trade will be included in the monopoly, but that betwixt the parent country and China; that all other trade will be left to its course, and that this restricted trade being confined to the port of London, no infraction can be made upon this monopoly.

Before this explanation is received, I would ask two questions. First, what is to become of the solicitude to conciliate the Chinese government that was advanced so pro-

minently? What provisions are to be made to prevent dissentions betwixt British subjects in the East, and that vindictive government? Would it not be more consistent with British honor and safety, to preserve the whole charge of its whole affairs in its own hands, amenable to law, and responsible to the authority of the state, and to lay down such rules and regulations as would implicate all the matters to be taken charge of, those of the parent state, as well as those of our fellow subjects abroad? This surely could be done merely by instituting a board or factory at Canton, as is done in other countries; one laid under most precise discipline, so as in effect to bring every British subject and all his affairs to the requisite extent, under most absolute control: the regulations thereto necessary being enforced by penalties, prompt and severe, which would be every way appropriate and commensurate with the circumstances of the case. Reports to the proper boards, and a refusal of protection or connexion, would be severe punishments in that quarter of the globe; yet by means of these alone, if it was necessary, a set of sumptuary enactments, as precise as those adopted in the army or navy might, under such authority, be most exactly maintained. Can the Company do more than this? It certainly cannot. The drift of the explanation set up is not therefore the removal of the superinduced difficulty, but the adaptation of it to the views of the East India Company. Nothing is thereby proposed for conciliating the good-will of the Chinese government and people, that is not much more completely attainable under the direct management of the crown. The honour and interests of the vast contiguous domains of Britain are left as unprotected as when they consisted of a few solitary forts. Let it not be pretended, therefore, that it is on account of any necessity in the case, or because there is no alternative, when the matter is so evidently arranged to suit the views of this great mercantile body. While we remember that the stake which we have in this business is most important, let us consider

that it is not by a timid deference to a fanciful importance, it is not by nurturing capricious prejudices, that the cordial good-will or friendship of this government is to be obtained; it is by exhibiting in a true and full light, the loyalty, generosity, benignity, and intrepidity of our character, and by illustrating at once the sincerity and the strength of the principles out of which these qualities arise. This must be done directly by the state and nation themselves, and not through the medium of mercantile and interested agents. Thereby we will merit esteem, and if after all, jealousy and prejudice should prevail, we will be able to bear up under it in a way becoming our national dignity and fortitude.

The second question I would ask those who propose this explanation is, do they really know the value of the sacrifice that they are demanding of us, and have the India proprietors substantial grounds for such a demand? I am far from questioning their right or title to every valuable consideration that can be resolved into property of any kind; what I wish to know is, if there is any thing in their circumstances that can merit or constitute a ground of claim for such sacrifices. It must be admitted that there is nothing.

It is proposed too to preclude the out-ports from the principal advantages of this trade, for the sake of the public revenue. It may be very true, that in the port of London, where this business has been long and thoroughly established, a variety of facilities and advantages will be found prepared for the collection of public imposts, that exist nowhere else. But is there any peculiar difficulty in collecting the taxes on tea, and inforcing all the enactments regarding this trade, in Liverpool, Glasgow or Cork, that may not be obviated? No one can maintain that there is. Why then are the out-ports to be deprived of this trade? The port of London will certainly draw into it its own proportion of the tea trade, without the aid of any monopoly; why therefore would we

deprive the out-ports of a similar advantage? There can be no good reason given. Having thus repelled their plea, we have a right to notice, that in these arrangements, the East India Company drop the question about methodism and colonization, and substitute that about the revenue. They are prepared to let the civilization of India take its course, and persons, objects and commodities to be shipped off thither according as the matter can be arranged betwixt government and individuals, provided only that the consignations homewards come under their influence. This simple illusion of theirs throws the light of day on all their fears about methodism, and anxieties about his Majesty's revenue. Their hue and cry is seen to be of the same cast of character with Bonaparte's zeal about the freedom of the seas, a bugbear to ward off investigations that would lead into the most mortifying results.

The great advantage of a free trade to Britain is its tendency to draw forth her resources, and to exercise on these her energies, and this can only be obtained by admitting trade freely into every quarter of the nation, and scattering its advantages over the land, and thus bringing forward under its influences all our various faculties of improvement. It is not at all necessary that each port should be directly embarked in it; this, from the extensive custom-house arrangements which in such trade is requisite, we know to be impossible; but it is necessary that direct trade should be laid open to all the great commercial avenues, so that no one set of our great national resources, and no one description of our capitalists may be excluded from it. In this way, our whole trade will be enlarged, and if one port gets more East India trade than the rest, it will most probably drop some part of its other trade in their favour. Every one of us sees aggregations of capital and ingenuity of resources and energies either hopelessly thrown aside, or inconsiderately dashed against each other from the mere want of an appro-

priate destination. This evil can only be remedied by extending the market, and by making that market bear with full and direct force on these invaluable objects. This evil, however, we are called on to submit to, to suit the views of the East India Company. Let us consider the value of the advantage to be thus abandoned for their sake.

The landed interests are deeply concerned in this matter. As things now stand with us, the welfare and security of the landed interest, comprizing our whole peerage and independent local interest, is completely identified with that of the commercial and manufacturing part of the community. There is a vast proportion of the landed interest directly concerned in trade, and in investments that derive their whole value from the support that they receive from trade. Of those landholders who are not thus involved in business, perhaps there is not one who has not friends, dependents and connexions who are engaged in trade, to an extent sufficient to interest him. These things constitute a ligument of attachment betwixt this important class of the community and the trading class, that is of no slender description. But besides this, the increased value, that must be permanently attached to their lands from an increase of trade, is such as to render this class in fact the main parties in the matter now under consideration. The effect of a stable trade on the value of land is wonderful, for it is not only powerful but permanent. Perhaps a perpetual lease of the whole emoluments of the Governor General would not, to many landholders, compensate for the loss of the stake that is in dependence on the present question. To all, this stake is immense; for if the final arrangement of the business now under consideration shall be such, that nothing but sheer loss to those who stand in front of commercial enterprize can ensue, the annual revenue of landholders might in consequence sink so low; or if, on the other hand, matters shall be so adjusted, that every accessible advantage shall be se-

cured to the nation, this revenue, as the result of national prosperity, may rise so high, that the difference itself may equal or even exceed all the rest. The interest, therefore, that the members of the legislature and the state (considered as a great political body, having a dependence for its revenues on commercial enterprize) have all severally in this business, is most important. The situation of the country is such, as to press these considerations strongly on them. Something must be done. The East India Company itself must admit this. Let it be recollected, however, that like every other class of merchants, when buoyed out of their station, this Company presses on towards its object, whatever sacrifices it may cost others. When the love of gain has steeled the mind against contrition, there is no assumption and no pretence too much not to be ventured on in the way of the attainment of advantage.

The India question is posed upon the public on grounds that are altogether unwarranted, and in a manner that is both unfair and unbecoming. The East India Company comprizes three distinct classes of functions. First, it holds certain rights of sovereignty over an extensive empire; secondly, it possesses in property invaluable territorial revenues, assets, ships, stores, and other effects; and lastly, it enjoys a monopoly of our trade to the East. In all these three characters, the operations of the Company are momentous and interesting, both in regard to its own and in regard to the public interest, but each of them rests on grounds peculiar to itself, and each in its own light ought accordingly to be regarded. It suits the Company, however, to draw up the whole under one view, to class all their operations under one train, and to attach the interest of the whole subjects under their charge to each particular part of this train. In this way, the British legislature is called upon to judge of matters the most complex under one general view, and to give its sanction to matters of the most opposite import.

The great end looked to in submitting India affairs to parliament is, the procuring of necessary supplies: the important objects to be provided for are unfolded, and the means at hand for meeting these are laid before it, but as the upshot of the whole is known to be this, that parliament must make up the deficiency, whatever it may be, and however it may arise, the very perplexity itself is an advantage in forwarding the object of the report; for under the shade of emergency, a sanction may be obtained for the greatest abuse. In this way, the British legislature is made—to give its approbation at once to the state of political connexions, and the establishment of manufactures that traverse the interests of Britain—to recognize the advantages resulting from the fatuity and debasement of the natives, and to docquet the accounts given in of the profits of the tea trade—to analyze the necessary expenditure of the general government, and the petty disbursements peculiar to mercantile affairs. If any exceptionable clause catch attention, is it not, in such circumstances, easy to resolve it into new intricacies? Cannot a variety of expedients, neither difficult nor dangerous. be made to shroud whatever it is desireable to conceal?

Every one must see, that intricacy so obviously remediable is a loud call for some general improvement of the system, and that it is no less nugatory than absurd to consider the Directors as under any great degree of accountability, until this intricacy and perplexity be removed. For my part, if the point could be held as ascertained and fixed, that it was dangerous and improper to allow British subjects to visit the East except under the restrictions of the Company, I would at once propose to divide the Company into three separate bodies, in one of which the sovereignty would be vested, in another the territorial revenue and fixed effects, and in the third the monopoly of the trade to the East. by such means, regular accounts could be kept, and a system of accountability maintained, and these, from the state of

our affairs, would be no inconsiderable attainments. The present confusion has no doubt grown out of events that have unexpectedly taken place. It has, however, continued long enough to exhibit its character and tendency, and it ought not to be continued, when the means of preventing it are obviously within our power.

That the rights of sovereignty, still exercised by the Company, may be laid hold of by the Crown, to whatever extent the legislature may appoint, without the consent or advice of the East India Company, I apprehend to be a point that few will attempt to controvert. To a certain extent the sovereignty has already been withdrawn from the Company, and if it is now necessary to lay hold of the remainder, I can see no ground in which the proprietors can start objections. Will they say that their policy and their prowess have produced this sovereignty? With much greater propriety, might the representatives of the illustrious Nelson, (the least of whose great victories throw all their atchievments, both in point of lustre and of advantage into the shade,) claim the Empire of the ocean, or some modification of it in his right. Will they say that their means, as well as their policy and prowess have contributed to our aggrandizement in the East? The answer is, that their means were procured under the influence of the state, and are entirely circumscribed by the authority of its laws.

That the territorial revenues, ships, stores, effects, and other subjects, held in property by the East India Company, rest on very different grounds from the rights of sovereignty aforenoticed, is very obvious. These they have acquired under the authority of the established laws of the nation, and for these they may claim respect, equal to that bestowed on every other description of property. The protection due to property accordingly is held to be extended around these, and the authority of the state and nation, as

pledged for their defence. These possessions, and these alone, are properly their own, and they are well warranted to use them in every lawful way that their interest or caprice directs. It must however be remarked, that these possessions, like the possessions of every other British subject, are objects of taxation, and as amenable to the state in the way of public impost as any other, and that in the circumstances in which they stand, the legislature has a good right to lay its hand very heavy on these in this very way. Nay, it must be farther remarked, that a great part of the territorial possessions of the Company, are burdened in the most direct manner with the expence of sovereignty, and of consequence, must either in whole or in part, revert to the state, the instant that the state assumes the full burdens of sovereignty. Compensation in certain cases to a certain extent will no doubt appear to be due to the Company; but the adjustment of the nature and extent of this compensation ought not for a moment to impede government in this assumption. It is an invariable maxim in our law, that the claims of the state must always be preferable, and this maxim extends with peculiar force to the present instance.

The monopoly of the East India Company, stands on a very different footing from both the rights above noticed It arose out of the circumstances of the times, it is to be exercised during a definite period, and it can continue no longer, and be exercised no farther, than the limits assigned to it. It is in this point that the nation at large is most interested. We are thereby debarred from the exercise of a right, which every free nation but ourselves lays claim to, and the party in whose favor this right is drawn up are allowed to lord it over us in the best half of the globe, in a way that we would not tolerate in any other class of the community, not even in the sovereign himself—in a way in fact, which, if but attempted on the part of any foreign nation, would be considered as a good ground of war. For

this monopoly the Company have not a single plea to adduce that can on the ground of right be listened to. It has been attempted to bewilder us with statements and averments, in order to shew that there is something like good policy in this as a general measure; but when the light of day has been passed through these, the whole fabric has appeared to be without substance.

Is it not ridiculous to hear the East India proprietors crowing over the taxes which they pay to government, while in truth, they are but the instruments of drawing these from the people, and when they discharge these no farther than their own circumstances render expedient. Do not the West India merchants pay much heavier imposts, and what is more to the purpose, do they not but too frequently pay these out of their own pockets, without ever requiring government to advance its millions for their advantage, or to indemnify them either directly or indirectly at the national expence? Is it not equally absurd to hear them talk of their investments in manufactured goods, when it is well known that these never are purchased but in the view of advantage, and only to that extent which their own interest requires. The merchants of Britain are neither destitute of capital, nor of the spirit of commercial enterprise, and it is altogether irrelevant to adduce extensive transactions in the way of trade, as an argument for restricting it. The magnitude of the East India Company's transactions, their sacrifices, and their exertions in the way of business are only deserving of public regard, in so far as they contribute to promote the general interests of the nation; and if there be any deficiency in the case, a few particular or solitary instances to the contrary are not to be listened to. This matter is to be determined by the character and tendency of their whole range of enterprise, and it may be illustrated in several particulars.

The primary object of all trade and industry is a plentiful supply of productions and commodities, suitable to our circumstances. The exertions thereto made by the East India Company, in proportion to their advantages and opportunities in the field that has been allotted to them, have been extremely slender; witness the high price and scarcity of silk, cotton, and indigo. The imperfect state in which these commodities have been introduced into our markets, joined to this scarcity and high price, have operated as a premium on foreign manufactures, and as an impost on our own. We can scarcely cast our eyes abroad, without perceiving the mischief that thence results to our national influence and convenience, and the advantages that would result from supplies under a free system.

A second object, scarcely less important than the foregoing is, that of animating and exercising our national faculties. It might be very possible for us to obtain all the supplies that we can personally appropriate and consume, while yet from the want of due excitation and support, our condition might nevertheless be very uncomfortable. We have faculties and talents that must be exercised and matured, and it is in the discipline induced for their exercise, that our individual improvement, and our social advancement consists. We might all of us have the most profuse supplies administered to all our wants, by means of systematic arrangement, on the purest principles of national œconomy, and yet the great ends of trade and industry might not be answered. Our faculties lead us to seek out our appropriate gratifications, and to pursue these in our own way, and according to our own views of what is best for us, and we thank no one who will relieve us of the burden, by binding up or annihilating our propensities to exertion. The East India Company might institute immense establishments for manufacturing muslins at Glasgow, cloths at Leeds, and calicoes at Manchester, so as to absorb all the trade of these places in their

own hands, and to destroy the stimulus for enterprize, that is frequently so ruinous in these places. In this way every hand might be employed, and unparalleled displays of skill and talent might be exhibited. But where would all that individual talent, enjoyment, and capital, in such a case, be, that excites and brings forward the general character and industry of the people, that augments their capacities for enjoyment, that extends the sphere of human excellence, of social and individual gratification? What would become of the landed interest, and of the monied interest, and of all who are dependent on energetic competition, and exercised on local resources and advantages? Where would be the national energies and resources themselves, the first fruits of our exertions, and the spring of our national character? Would not such a system, if followed out in every particular, in the end convert the British nation into a community of fatuists, as stupid, and as bigotted, as the most debased tribes of the Hindoos? Yet such it must be noticed, is the precise character and tendency of the East India system, and such its known operation and effects.

I shall only point out a third aspect, under which this subject may be regarded, and that is its influence on the transactions of the state and of the community with foreign nations. The East India Company professes merely to supply a certain part of our wants, and to recruit its own finances; but the nation and the government have to draw supplies from other nations for many important wants, which the East India Company cannot meet, and to discharge many duties which the aggrandizement of the Company cannot comprehend. These are matters of the very first magnitude to us as a nation, and we must not as we value our existence, overlook them. Our industry and our means must unable us to meet these duties. These are now traversed by the unavoidable contingencies of war, and we have nothing before us and our posterity, but a con-

tinued progressive train in the same course. To all this, as far as we are individually concerned, we do submit without murmuring, because it is our duty so to do, and because we perceive that any attempt to withdraw ourselves from the great cause, for which these sacrifices are made, would not only be unmanly, but impolitic. I would ask, however, whence are the means to be procured for enabling us to persevere in our duty, to uphold our friends, to frustrate our competitors, to combat our enemies? Our establishments for industry are paralyzed, our coffers are fast exhausting, and every avenue whence effectual relief can be obtained, is shut against us but one, and that one is in the hands of the monopolists. I am aware of the advantages that have recently risen into our hands, by the success of the Russians, and of others that may be expected to follow; but we must keep this in our eye, that these advantages are held on a most precarious footing; precarious perhaps, not so much from the late of war, as from the wayward measures of foreign cabinets, when fortune gives them any peculiar ascendency. If we can shew our independence of the good will of these cabinets, their sense of friendship takes its due course; but the moment a proud nation like ours, lays open her distresses, her wants, and her expectations, a new set of feelings arise. If our intercourse with the East were laid open, on a footing that would insure competent relief, at once to our general, our commercial, and our financial difficulties, we might calculate with some degree of certainty on the continuance of this good will, on the part of our neighbours, and derive from intercourse with them, advantages that are not at present so much as thought of. Is it proper, is it wise, to permit ourselves to be divested of this advantage, or rather chain of advantages?

What do the favoured proprietors say to all this? They have recourse to the complexity of the subject. They talk of their martial atchievements and territorial acquisitions

After the seas had been swept of the enemies fleets, and the best troops and generals of Britain, placed under their banners, had, through the merciful protection of heaven, obtained possession of extensive domains, these, it seems the results of our blood and treasure, are to be held as props to their abject domination. They next point to their inflated wealth, their navies crowned with pomp, (the result of high prices for their commodities, unfeelingly extracted from our nation by dint of their monopoly,) and contrasting these with the deep depression and calamity, under which our resources are inveloped, (and they do this with the very breath, that they come forward to demand the supplies necessary to avert their own destruction,) they then ask us where we have means to support such a trade as this! Nor is this all; when the lease of their monopoly is about to expire, and when they are about to submit it to our legislature, whether it shall be continued or not, they scruple not to exhibit their contempt of our national religion, character, and civil constitution. Surely they do not consider that it is, at least for this time, their business to sooth our jealousies; they cannot suppose our august legislature is to be dragooned into their measures!

The subject is certainly too serious to be treated of in the way of banter; and yet as the East India proprietors, (who taken in the aggregate must have feelings as just and as independent as any of their countrymen,) have not heretofore opened their eyes to the strangeness of their situation, it is but fair to place their pretensions in the strongest and fullest light. The fact is, they are loth, exceedingly loth, to part with the insignia of sovereignty, and they see in their predominancy, charms that outweigh their best interests. Let them, however, call to mind, the evils and misfortunes into which their fatuous pursuit of advantage has led the nation, and by these, measure their claims to supremacy. When the Scotch nation had exhausted itself in the view of planting a colony at Darien, that would have given to

Great Britain, the command of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, it was the intrigues of the Company that blasted their design—it was that Company too that grappled with our now gigantic cotton manufactures, when but in the cradle; and it was only prevented by the superior prowess of machinery, from giving them at that time their death-blow. Our assessed taxes were doubled to secure the interests of its monopoly of tea—and it was inforcing for its behoof this commodity on America, that that vast empire was lost. The truth is, wherever the Company appears as a sovereign, there a callousness to all that is excellent, and a blind rage for advantage, is most conspicuous.

But this is not all; the Company has long intervened its powers and its terrors against the propagation of our holy faith, and it shields with its influence, superstitions, the most ghastly, and the most horrid; its policy stands the rampart of ignorance and debasement, and it is not ashamed to owe part of its revenues and authority to a connection with rites and ceremonies, more shameful than any that have existed since the power of Christianity was felt in this globe. It becomes us not, however, to shake ourselves loose from this guilt. It is but of yesterday, that we gave our veto to the trade in human flesh. We ourselves and our government are perhaps even here the most guilty; for our influence has at all times been competent to the prevention of such crimes. We might have done much for the propagation of the truth that we have not done; and it is only through the mercy and goodness of God, that severe as our restrictions have been, they have not prevented the Germans, Danes, Americans, and some of the best disposed amongst ourselves, from diffusing the light and power of our holy faith amidst such darkness.

I consider it necessary to express my sentiments thus clearly and fully, because experience has at length proved

that though the India Directors be now, in a manner, stripped of their sovereign authority, yet they can exercise an influence over the whole train of India transactions, that can impress in the fullest manner, the character of their system, on objects the highest and most important, and because it is now evident, that the evil cannot be remedied, until the monopoly itself be brought to an end. The power of the state, and the influence of the nation, have in part moderated that fatuous love of gain, which at a former period was productive of frightful crimes and calamities. The East India proprietors and directors form a most respectable and highly estimable part of our community, (some of these do honor not only to our name and nation, but to the age in which we live, and are as illustrious in a moral and religious point of character, as others of our countrymen are in a martial and political,) yet even these, under the influence of a system, which reduces every consideration, the highest and the purest, as well as the most ordinary, into its value in pounds sterling, are made instrumental in pushing forward a train of measures which tend directly to level our attainments with their pecuniary value. The evil, as things now stand, cannot but be incurable, for when the criterion of all that is excellent, is the impulse of the annual dividends, and the evil that is of all others the most dreaded, a defalcation in the results of mercantile enterprise, where can the finer and the nobler sympathies and endowments of our nature, those in which the protection of the helpless, and the advancement of the excellent disclose themselves? How can these reach their object, or exercise themselves towards its attainment?

This state of things is more to be lamented, because in their own proper department, the India Company and all its agents exhibit a sense of duty, and a correspondent deportment, that indicates the strongest sense of propriety. Nowhere, I believe, have the particular objects of every de-

partment of office been followed up with more fidelity, care, and attention, than in the affairs of the East India Company; the line of classification has no doubt generally run in the order, which a regard to pecuniary import has drawn for it, but a degree of fidelity, zeal and discretion, in the management of affairs committed in trust, has resulted from this method, that does the highest honour to the character of the Company. This very property, however, certainly contributes to disqualify them for those enlarged apprehensions of things that are necessary on the part of those who have stupendous objects under their control. It contracts the views and diminishes the powers of the mind; it envelopes the great leading objects in mists and obscurity, and raises the most minute affairs out of their place. So long, therefore, as this great political body is beset with such vague impulses, in the discharge of its duty, so long will it, though possessed of vast resources and energies, and endowed with faculties and propensities that are accustomed to meet in the most direct manner their proper object, exhibit nothing but a continued train of base and sordid measures, altogether, unbecoming its situation. These measures, may be influenced by various impulses and be moderated in their results as well as in their appearances; still, however, they will partake of the common character of the system, and tend rather to the confirmation of what is wrong, than to its amendment.

The evil lies in the system, but the system itself let it be noticed, arises out of circumstances that are under our control. The East India Company is an active, a highly efficient, and most estimable branch of our civil polity, and it has functions to discharge of much higher import, than those resulting from its monopoly. It is possessed of extensive domains, invaluable ships, stores and effects; it is possessed also of the confidential regard of the commercial part of the community. From its means and resources it is entitled to the highest mercantile confidence; for its property is im-

mense, through the value of this property will never be known, until it is unfolded under a proper system. The means and resources of this great Company require nurture and protection, and this nurture and protection are provided the moment the monopoly is at an end. The spirit of enterprise and industry that is to attracted to the East must bring this provision tothe Company's resources, from whence supplies are to be drawn, and the stimulus to be obtained, whereby the real value of all its real effects is to be exhibited. This is in truth the Company's situation ; its interest, and its duty are linked together. The main object of solicitude and attention to the East India Company ought to be to draw forth and uphold the superinduced industry and enterprise, and to bear these directly to those objects ; and its ultimate end, to advance the value, and augment the price of those investitures, whereby its own wealth is constituted. In short, the East India Company must have the improvement of its territorial revenue chiefly or rather solely in view. For the sake of this object, it must strip itself of every other avocation, and without at all involving itself in the transactions of trade, it must be its business to draw towards it the floating means of the country ; and this cannot be done more effectually, and more expeditiously, than by devoting its best offices, indiscriminately to the service of commercial adventurers, and without excluding itself as a body, by the most positive obligations from all concern whatever with the business of import or export. The whole circumstances of the trade point directly to this, as an indispensible step in the way of obtaining the great and leading objects of the new arrangement. For if the Company continue to dabble in affairs that admit of rivalry and competition, it will effectually blight the fair advantages of the ordinary trader. It is only by devolving on others all the various hazards of adventure, that the advancement of territorial possession, the grand ulterior design to be prosecuted, can be promoted ; it is only by resolving as expeditiously as prudence will admit of it, every description of these that imply detail and complicated

management into subjects of revenue, that the interests, that must by this means become established, can be held to have reached their ultimate resolution.

Besides the various objects of regard that are connected with its territorial possessions, and its ships and naval provisions, there arises in favor of the East India Company, from the situation of all parties, a special function, which it alone can execute, and which it is imperiously called upon to assume. It demands the utmost attention of this august body at this very moment; for it regards *the financial concerns of this whole trade, and of all that is embarked in it.* This is a vast object, and it has always created much difficulty. It occurs to me that government might easily give the East India Company a compensation this way, that would forever remove these difficulties. Let the East India Directors be vested with power to issue in India, in a regular and suitable manner, by means of promissory notes, the whole amount of the compensation, at which their whole claims may be valued; let these notes, after being twelve months current in India, be resoluble into drafts at par on the Court of Directors at home; and in order to enable these Directors to meet these drafts at maturity, let them be vested with power to issue promissory notes to be current in this kingdom for a couple of years. Let our own government be held to be responsible for this whole range of transactions, and for this purpose affix a proper docquet on each note; and let the funds thus created and circulated be declared by authority to be of equal value and import with those of the Bank of England. The nation has betaken itself to a paper currency, and though the Bank of England should be obliged to receive and pass these notes indiscriminately with its own, the security held by the nation for this currency, would not be diminished, but greatly increased by the arrangement. No ultimate evil could take place, for the amount, the object, the term of currency, are definitely fixed and limited.

This scheme might perhaps move long on its own basis, but if it did not, the extent of the evil is seen; for government could interpose itself at any time, and take up the impledgements. This is a brief idea of the employment that I would devolve on the Company. Circumstances would press themselves on its attention, to fill up the whole plan.

The East India Directors would thereby pour financial relief into their Indian territories, and enable and dispose the occupant of these not only to improve their possessions, but to purge off, in the way of compensation, the various incumberances under which their possessions may be laid; an alternative we may rest assured, that they would betake themselves to as soon as the value of free unincumbered proproperty and industry should, in the way of unrestricted commerce and industry, be fully disclosed to them. By this means too, adventurers to India would obtain a variety of facilities in realizing their effects, that would be otherwise unattainable; and the general industry and improvement of the whole community would go on, in the most direct and efficient course. In Britain, the support and excitation thereby provided for our commercial transactions, and for rearing and supporting establishments and manufactories suited to the India trade, would go on with every advantage, and the East India Company, in the increased value of their oreign possessions, would perceive resources whence ample returns for all the sacrifices, and for all the solicitude, that on their part, are now required would be drawn.

It is by such means as these, and by such alone, that our Indian Empire is to rise to its proper place in our system. Thereby its invaluable resources will be developed, and the faculties and energies of its population extricated from the debasing superstition under which they are at present bent. Thereby, also, the country at large will be bound to us as with a chain of adamant, and its whole strength and sub-

stance resolve itself easily into general good. These are most important considerations, and they are not to be rejected because they are the result of a theory that has been misapplied. In France, it was paper money (there the guise of treachery) that drew out the country in the service of the turbulent; it was the same instrument that consolidated the British settlement at the revolution. In India, the power thus introduced must be doubly efficient, for it will exercise the population under our influence for their own advantage, and thus discover to them a source of blessings arising from subjection to our influence of the most estimable kind; it will raise them above the influence of their feeble phantasies—it will fit them for those great duties, those high subjects of contemplation and regard that are so excitative of ennobling sentiments, which are common to all the subjects of the general empire, and it will make them not only faithful but useful and valuable members of this great community.

On the whole therefore, it is manifest, that though as sovereigns the East India proprietors have no claims on our regard, and as monopolists governed by a fatuous love of gain are deserving of the severest reprehensions, yet they are well entitled to maintain a high, honourable and authoritative place in our system. Their conduct, as instruments for carrying forward any great and laudable design, has seldom been otherwise than meritorious in this view. The fault is in placing them in a situation that does not become them, and in expecting from them blessings which they have not faculties to bestow. This fault can only be remedied by giving them their proper place in our system, and by maintaining and preserving them in this place. Let us next advert to the whole consequences of this arrangement.

The advantages, resulting from the civilization of Hindostan and a free unrestricted trade to China, appear in their

full importance, when we view them as connected with unrestricted intercourse with all the other nations of the East. Commerce, with the shores of Africa and Arabia, the empires of Persia, Siam, Agra, and Japan, could be of little importance, if we had not the means and assistance to be procured from these advantages. The Hindoos in this way may become our legs and arms in carrying on this trade, and they will feel their importance and their advantage in being thus employed. They will, under our shade and protection, bring home and realize riches, of which the best fruits will again arise into our hands. They will highly prize their improvements and attainments under our influence, and become proud of opportunities of displaying and diffusing them; they will thus gradually rise out of their prostrate condition, and bless the hand that has helped to upraise them. They will become the means of disseminating the knowledge and the advantages that they have obtained amongst the wide extended realms of Asia and Africa, and under British sway become the centre and spring of the regeneration of these realms. The advantages, political and commercial, that Great Britain will thus acquire, must be proportionate. Her empire on the seas will become confirmed. Apart from the rest of the world, she will, through the medium of her settlements in Canada, the Cape and Hindostan, maintain her influence over the whole—not a blasting, crushing, overwhelming influence, but one that enters benignly into the character, and invigorates while it supports the energies of every thing great and good in every nation.

These views are grand and glorious, but they are neither unseemly for the occasion, nor in the least illusive; they have been powerful springs of action with the greatest nations and with the greatest heroes—but to none of them, as to us, have the means for realizing them been so extensive and so appropriate. By having the command of the ocean,

we have direct access to every country; by having under our power not only territorial riches and strength of the most extraordinary kind, but processes and establishments and means for increasing these and their value and importance immeasureably, while we can make our access sure, we render our intercourse most desireable. Nor is this all: our religious institutions and civil advantages are prepared to give full effect to the civilizing processes that may be induced. Commercial intercourse itself is a most powerful stimulant and supporter of such a process, it excites industry, it administers to its wants, it relieves it of its burdens, it rewards its exertions, and it crowns it with riches and honour. Industry, informed and supported by science and political power, is the precursor and the parent of improvement of mind as well as of outward estate; it enables and it obliges us all to bestir ourselves in the way of duty, to get quit of foul prejudices, to keep under our violent propensities, and to make real progress in every valuable and substantial acquirement; it puts it into our power to ameliorate the condition of others, not only without at all impairing, but in the direct way of ameliorating our own. It produces in fact all that is excellent, and it places it, when obtained, in the place that is most seemly; it prepares man for the services of religion, and when properly disciplined under its mild and beneficent principles, industry itself becomes an act of devotion, a sacrifice of time and of labour to the highest objects of human solicitude, grateful to Heaven, and supremely beneficent to our fellow-creatures.

It appears to me that there is something in our national character and condition that fits us for this exalted station. I think too, that there is a kind of destination of this character and condition to these very services. It was the privilege of Britain to receive the first and the purest beams of the reformed religion, and under a peculiar system of discipline to have her institutions for these, and for administer-

ing the functions of civil government, purified and endowed with the most ameliorating functions. Britain became obnoxious to the enemies of religion and of liberty, on account of the appropriate support that she administered to these. The most tremendous naval armament that ever set to sea was prepared for her destruction, but the hand of God, seen and acknowledged by all parties, saved her from even tasting of this destruction. A similar miracle, the disclosure of the plot, snatched her whole constituted authorities from a death still more awful. Britain saw the race of sovereigns, that was lukewarm or untrue to her proper cause, ingloriously dethroned. The defalcation of this race began in abandoning their presumptuous son-in-law, the zealous ally of their faith, to ruin; and their punishment was completed when the descendents of that high-minded, ill-fated prince, were peacefully seated in their vacated throne. The industry and the sobriety of Britons were for above a century disciplined by intercourse with their expatriated brethren abroad. When this empire had withdrawn its allegiance from the common sovereign, a new one sprung up in the East, more fitted to receive her good offices and to diffuse her high advantages. When we come closser to our situation, and contemplate the various interferences of providence at the commencement and during the continuance of the French revolution, the character, the importance and the obligancy of our great national duties, that of protecting and diffusing the truth, appear most conspicuous. When Ireland was in a state of rebellion, when the navy had mutinied, was not our preservation evidently the work of that Hand that has prescribed to us this duty? When Austria had sunk at Ulm, how seasonably did Nelson's last victory take place! When the whole shores of Iberia and its immense resources had fallen under Bonaparte's sway, and thus in a manner had rendered our naval predominancy nugatory, how seasonably did her revulsion wrest this advantage from under his hand! When glutted with conquest and good

fortune, this man supposed he had nothing to do but to find some appropriate employment for himself, until we, by working out our strength, had prepared ourselves for becoming his easy prey in Spain—how wonderfully was he infatuated to betake himself and all his means to an expedition that could not but end in his overthrow! In all these events we mark the hand of God preserving our nation, its means of intercourse, its faculties of ameliorating the circumstances and character of our race. We perceive that nothing has been too great for us to achieve, in the way of following out this destination; that no state of affairs has been too desperate to make us lose sight of it; and that no disaster that could mar this grand object has ever been allowed to overwhelm us.

This is a service to which we do not come unprepared, and in advancing towards it do not presume to trespass on the rules of discretion. The elements of civil as well as of natural power are, to a certain extent, subjects of calculation and control. The successive means that broke the bands of superstition—the invention of printing, the dissemination of the properties of the magnetic needle, and other qualities of natural bodies, the discovery of America, and the passage round the Cape, are known and perceived by all of us to be direct steps in the way of blasting and destroying these disgraceful bands. The concentration of all previous discoveries in the arts of navigation, of warfare, and of improvement in industry and in social life—and the advancement of the British to a high command over a system, in which all these are prepared and laid to hand as appropriate and immediate instruments, have qualified the British government for rescuing the Eastern world from the deplorable delusions of French prophanity and oppression. At length various discoveries and various acquisitions have put it in the power of Britain to push this advantage farther, to raise as it were a phalanx, comprizing the nations at large drawn up in support and de-

fence of the cause that is her own. Nor is this all: Britain is imperiously called upon to exercise this power. The time was, when maintaining the balance of Europe consisted in trimming the possessions of a few states on the Rhine, and on the North of Italy. By and bye, this system of balancing embraced all Europe. Europe now bleeds under an usurper, and it is hard to say what may be her ultimate fate. It will contribute to her recovery, if we can plant and mature the principles of improvement in the other parts of the world. To plant these we are in a manner necessitated, from our dependence on commercial excitation and support. Improvements in education, in the modes of disseminating useful and important knowledge, and a high spirit in the body of the nation, constitute a new set of means and new principles of action, springing forward and urging us to do our duty in this instance, and thereto offering their assistance. In the mean time, commercial influence, the strongest influence that can be exercised on men acting independently in a progressive state of social advancement—financial connexions, the most powerful ligument of social relations, and the most effectual restraint on every thing violent and irregular in civil polity that we know of, and a high sense of character to give to these their full effect, together with a range and opportunities commensurate with our highest wishes and expectations—are all at present within our power. We are in a manner not only introduced into, but pushed along the highest line of national duty. Shall we take half measures? It was not by half measures that Russia saved herself, and it is not by half measures that an object every way so great and glorious is to be obtained.

Let it be supposed, that while the exploits which now irradiate with so much lustre and potency the Russian name, was a doing or projecting (it is the greatest that was ever achieved in any age by any nation, whether the depth of contrivance, the scale on which it was executed, the quali-

ties of head and of heart which it elicited, the multitude the grandeur and the value of the objects which it embraced, the end to which it tended, or the consequences that have followed—be considered), let it be supposed, that at this very crisis, some individuals or some body of individuals had possessed influence sufficient to paralyze the arm of the state with their fears and their doubts and their jealousies respecting the bearings of this event on their own peculiar interests, and on their special class of advantages; what would have been the result? Where would have been the independence of Europe? Its high-minded citizens might have been bound hopelessly under the chains of its desolator, and their only prospect of relief have consisted in projecting a renewed series of warfare and turmoil.

The case now before the British Legislature, may not seem to run quite parallel with that which is above stated, nor the crisis and urgency appear so alarming and so great. Let us, however, take into account our situation and our advantages, and the correspondence of the duties and services that are before us with these, and say, whether or not, views equally exalted and extensive, principles equally pure and magnanimous, and conduct equally heroic and determined, be not as imperiously demanded on our part at present, as they were at that time in Russia. The fate of millions as numerous, and points of that fate as important hang upon our decision. The glory and the advantage that may follow, are noways less momentous, and though our national existence be not so nearly affected, advantages to us the greatest, are as completely at stake. If through fatality of councils, our Indian Empire should become a real burden to us, the illusion of our greatness will soon disappear. What the envy and jealousy of neighbours might, in such circumstances, attempt to do against the sovereigns of the ocean, thus crestfallen and denuded, their conduct, when America deserted our standards, enables us too plainly conjecture. While our re-

sources are entire, and our spirits unbroken, we can bear up under privations and exertions that appear to be extreme. What would follow if things were reversed, no human being can foretell. If in Heaven we have full confidence, in doing our duty and exercising ourselves on our advantages, we will fear nothing so much as to forfeit its favour, or to incur its displeasure. Happily, no sacrifices that need appal us, nor exertions from which we must shrink, are required. It is chiefly with our own prejudices and misconceptions that we struggle, and in this we have advantages that ought to remove every alarm. It is the same principles on which our security has been founded, and the same maxims on which our attainments have been built up, that we are called upon to follow out and obey—enlarged indeed, and expanded with their appropriate objects, but every way as correspondent to our circumstances as before.

FINIS

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